

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

JAMES BARNABY, Publishing Agent.

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Communications intended for insertion, to be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor. All others to JAMES BARNABY, Publishing Agent.

## Selections.

From The Liberator.

### Speech of Theodore Parker,

At a Meeting of Citizens of Boston and vicinity, held in Faneuil Hall, March 25th, in condemnation of the recent speech of Daniel Webster.

[EXTRACTS.]

### Importance of the Question.

A question so important to be decided seldom comes before any generation of men.—This age is full of great questions, but this of Freedom is the chief—it is the same question which in other forms comes up in Europe. This is presently to be decided here in the United States by the servants of the people; for the people, if justly decided; against them, if unjustly. If it were to be left to-morrow to the unkind votes of the majority, I should have no fear. But the public servants of the people may decide otherwise. The political parties, as such, are not to pass judgment. It is not a question between Whigs and Democrats; old party distinctions, once so sacred and rigidly observed, here vanish out of sight. The party of Slavery or the party of Freedom is to swallow up all the other parties. Questions about tariffs and banks can hardly get a hearing. On the approach of a battle, men do not talk of the weather.

Four great men in the Senate of the United States have given us their decision; the four most eminent in the party politics of the nation—two great Whigs, two great Democrats. The *Shibboleth* of their party is forgotten by each; there is a strange unanimity in their decision. 'The Herod of free trade and the Pilate of protection are made friends,' when Freedom is to be crucified. All four decide adverse to freedom, in favor of slavery; against the people. Their decisions are such as you might look for in the politicians of Austria and Russia. Many smaller ones have spoken on this side or on that. Last of all, but not least, the most illustrious of the four—so far as great gifts of the understanding are concerned—ason of New England, long known, and often and deservedly honored, has given his decision. We waited long for his words; we held our peace in his silence; we listened for his counsel.—Here it is; adverse to freedom beyond the fears of his friends, and the hopes even of his foes. He has done wrong things before, cowardly things more than once; but this, the wrongest and most cowardly of them all, we did not look for. No great man in America has had his faults or his failings so leniently dealt with; private scandal we will not credit, public shame we have tried to excuse, or, if inexcusable, to forget. We have all of us been proud to go forward and honor his noble deeds, his noble efforts, even his noble words. I wish we could take a mantle big and black enough, and go backward and cover up the shame of the great man who has fallen in the midst of us, and hide him till his honor and his conscience shall return. But no, it cannot be; his deed is done in the face of the world, and nothing can hide it.

### Bidding for the Presidential Prize.

The lease of the Presidency is to be disposed of for the next four years by a sort of auction. It is in the hands of certain political brokers, who 'operate' in presidential and other political stock. The majority of those brokers are slaveholders or pro-slavery men; they must be conciliated, or they will 'not understand the nod' of the candidate.—I mean, of the man who bids for the lease.—All the illustrious men in the national politics have an eye on the transaction, but sometimes the bid has been taken for persons whose chance at the sale seemed very poor. Gen. Cass made his bid some time ago. I think his offer is recorded in the famous 'Nicholson Letter.' He was a Northern man, and bid non-intervention—the unconstitutional non-intervention of slavery in the new territories. Mr. Clay made his bid, (for old Kentucky 'never tires') the same old bid that he has often made—a compromise. Mr. Calhoun did as he has always done. Will not say he made any bid at all; he was too sick for that, too sick for any thought of the Presidency. Perhaps at this moment the angel of death is dealing with that famed and remarkable man. Nay, he may already have gone where the 'servant is free from his master, and the weary are at rest,' have gone home to his God, who is the Father of the great politician and the feeble-minded slave. If it be so, let us follow him only with pity for his errors, and let the prayer that his soul may be at rest. He has fought manfully in an unmanly cause. He seemed sincerely in the wrong, and in spite of the badness of the cause to which he devoted his best energies, you cannot but respect the man.

Last of all, Mr. Webster makes his bid for the lease of 'that bad eminence,' the Presidency. He bids higher than the others, of course, as coming later; bids non-intervention, four new slave States in Texas, Mason's bill for expunging fugitive slaves, and denunciation of all the anti-slavery movements of the North, public and private. That is what he bids, looking to the Southern side of the board of political brokers. Then he nods northward, and says, the *Wilnot Provision* is my 'thunder,' then timely glances to the South and adds, 'but I will never use it.'

I think this is the only reasonable way in which we can estimate this speech—as a bid for the Presidency. I will not insult that mighty intellect by supposing that he, in his private heart, regards it in any other light.—Mr. Calhoun might well be content with that, and say, 'Organize the territories on the principle of that gentleman, and give us a free scope and sufficient time to do in—ask nothing but that, and we will never ask it.'

### The Fugitive Bill.

Suppose the bill of Mr. Webster's friend shall pass Congress, what will the action of it be? A slave-hunter comes here to Boston—he seizes any dark looking man that is unknown and friendless—he has him before the postmaster, the collector of customs, or some clerk, or marshal of some U. S. court, and makes oath that the dark man is his slave. The slave-hunter is allowed his oath. The fugitive is not allowed his testimony.—The man born free as you and I, on the false oath of a slave-hunter, or the purchased affidavit of some one, is surrendered to a Southern State, to bondage life-long and irremediable. Will you say—the post-master, the collector, the clerks and marshals in Boston would not net in such matters? They have no option; it is their official duty to do so. But they would not decide against the unalienable rights of man—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness! That may be, or may be not. The slave-hunter may have his 'fugitive' before the collector of Boston, or the postmaster of Turin, if he sees fit. If they, remembering their Old Testament, refuse to 'bewray him that wandereth,' the slave-hunter may bring on his officer with him from Georgia or Florida; he may bring the custom-house officer from Mobile or Wilmington, some petty little post-master from a town you never heard of, in South Carolina or Texas, and have any dark man in Boston up before that 'magistrate,' and on his decision have the fugitive carried off to Louisiana or Arkansas, to bondage forever. The bill provides that the trial may be had before any such officer, 'residing or being' in the State where the fugitive is found!

There were three fugitives at my house the other night. Ellen Crafts was one of them. You all know Ellen Crafts is a slave; she, with her husband, fled from Georgia to Philadelphia, and is here before us now.—She is not so dark as Mr. Webster himself, if any of you think freedom is to be dealt out in proportion to the whiteness of the skin.—If Mason's bill passes, I might have some miserable postmaster from Texas or the District of Columbia—some purchased agent of Messrs. Bruin and Hill, the great slave-dealers of the Capital—have him here in Boston, take Ellen Crafts before the catfish, and on his decision hurry her off to bondage as cheerless, as hopeless, as irremediable as the grave!

Let me interest you in a scene which might happen. Suppose a poor fugitive, wrongfully held as a slave—let it be Ellen Crafts—has escaped from Savannah in some Northern ship. No one would dare her presence on board; she has him with the cargo in the hold of the vessel. Harder things have happened. Men have journeyed hundreds of miles bent double in a box half the size of a coffin, journeying towards freedom. Suppose the ship comes up to Long Wharf, at the foot of State street. Bulk is broken to remove the cargo; the woman escapes, emancipated with hunger, feeble from long confinement in a ship's hold, sick with the tossings of the headless sea, and still further etiolated and blanched with the mingling emotions of hope and fear. She escapes to land. But her pursuer, more remorseless than the sea, has been here before hand; laid his case before the official he has brought with him, or purchased here, and claims his slave. She runs for her life, fear adding wings. Imagine the scene—the flight, the hot pursuit through State Street, Merchant's Row—your magistrates in hot pursuit. To make the irony of nature still more complete, let us suppose this shall take place on some of the memorable days in the history of America—on the 19th of April, when our fathers first laid down their lives 'in the sacred cause of God and their country'; on the 17th of June, the 23rd of December, or on any of the sacramental days in the long and history of our struggle for our own freedom! Suppose the weary fugitive takes refuge in Faneuil Hall, and here, in the old Cradle of Liberty, in the midst of its associations, under the eyes of Samuel Adams, the bloodhounds seize their prey! Imagine Mr. Webster and Mr. Winthrop looking on, cheering the slave-hunter, intercepting the fugitive fleeing for her life. Would that not be a pretty spectacle!

Propose to support that bill to the fullest extent, with all its provisions! Ridiculous! Did Mr. Webster suppose that such a law could be executed in Boston? that the people of Massachusetts will ever return a single fugitive, under such an act as that?—Then he knows his constituents very little, and proves that he needs 'instruction.'

'Slavery is a moral and religious blessing,' says somebody in the present Congress. But it seems some 30,000 slaves have been blind to the benefits—moral and religious—which it confers, and have fled to the free States.—Mr. Clinegan estimates the value of all the fugitive slaves in the North at \$15,000,000.—Delaware loses \$400,000 a year in this way; her riches taking to themselves not wings but woes. Maryland lost \$100,000 in six months. I fear Mr. Mason's bill and Mr. Webster's speech will do much to protect that sort of 'property' from this kind of

loss. Such action is prevented 'by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas.'

### Three Traitors.

Shall I compare Mr. Webster with Thomas Wentworth, the great Earl of Strafford, a man whose doubtful character and memorable end have made him the most conspicuous character of a reign so fertile in recollections? He, like Webster, was a man of large powers, and once devoted them to noble uses. Did Wentworth defend the 'Petition of right'? So did Webster, many times defend the great cause of liberty. But it was written of Strafford, that 'in his self-interest and ambitious mind; patriotism' was the seed sown among thorns! 'If we reflect upon this man's cold-blooded apostasy on the first hour, when we looked for great counsel, when we forgot the paltry things which he has often done, and said, "Now he will rouse his noble soul, and be the man his only speeches once bespoken," who dared to fear that Olympian head would bow so low, so deeply kiss the ground? Try it morally, try it intellectually, try it by the statesman's test, world-wide justice—may, try it by the politician's harshest test, the personal expediency of to-day—it is a speech 'not fit to be made,' and when made, 'not fit to be confirmed.'

We see dimly in the distance what is small and what is great. Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the rime of Strafford! His measures for stifling liberty in England, which he and his cotemporaries significantly called 'trovocation,' in the reign of Charles the first, were not more atrocious than the measures which Daniel Webster proposes himself, or proposes to support 'to the fullest extent.' But Strafford paid the forfeit—tasting the sharp and bitter edge of the remorseless axe. Let his awful shade pass by. I mourn at the parallel between him and the mighty son of our own New England. Would to God it were not thus!

For a sadder parallel, I shall turn off from the some features of that great British politician, and find another man in our own filial land. This man carries us back to the times that tried men's souls, when also there were souls that could not stand the rack. It calls me back to 'the famous year '80'—to the little American army in the highlands of New York—the time when the torch of American liberty, which now sends its blaze far up to heaven, at the same time lighting the Northern lakes and the Mexican Bay, tingling with welcome radiance the Eastern and the Western sea, was a feeble flame, flickering about a thin another man in our own filial land. This man carries us back to the times that tried men's souls, when also there were souls that could not stand the rack. 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